# Message Text

#### CONFIDENTIAL

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /083 W ------121050 051120Z /11

O 050959Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 681

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 5226

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: NUJOMA, THE GOI, AND THE REVISED PROPOSALS

REFS: A. STATE 082297 AND 082435; B. SECTO 3082; C. NEW DELHI

5031; D. STATE 085931; E. USUN 01228

1. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONTACT GROUP COUNTRIES, COMPRISING THIS TIME THE AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY, THE CHARGES OF BRITAIN AND CANADA, AND MYSELF MET THIS MORNING WITH MEA SECRETARY VELLODI. WE RECEIVED AN EXCELLENT, DETAILED BRIEFING ON THE GOI'S TALKS WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA. WE PRESENTED THE RESPONSES TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S EARLIER QUESTIONS CONTAINED CONFIDENTIAL

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IN STATE 085931 AMEMAED BY USUN 01228. AND, AS INSTRUCTED, I SOUGHT TO ENLIST THE GOI'S SUPPORT IN THE EXPECTED SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION OF THE CONTROL GROUP'S PROPOSAL. DETAILS FOLLOW.

2. NUJOMA'S GENERAL STANCE:- VELLODI SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND HE SEPARATELY HAD HAD EXTENSIVE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH NUJOMA IN ADDITION TO HIS MORE FORMAL MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN

MINISTER. NUJOMA, HE SAID, CONSISTENTLY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE INITIATIVES OF THE WESTERN FIVE, SAID SWAPO HAS TRIED TO RESPOND WITH REASONABLE CONCESSIONS(E.G. IN AGREEING TO RELEASE PRISONERS AND TO A CONTINUED PRESENCE OF LIMITED SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES); AND INDICATED THAT SWAPO INTENDS TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP AND THAT WHEN IT REPLIES TO THE REVISED PROPOSALS IT WILL DO SO IN WRITING.

3. NUJOMA'S PRELIMINARY REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSALS:-AT THE SAME TIME NUJOMA INDICATED TO THE INDIANS THAT HE FINDS SOME PROBLEMS IN THE REVISED PROPOSALS. BASICALLY THEY ARE THREE. (A). WHILE SWAPO ACCEPTS 1500 SA TROOPS REMAINING THROUGH THE ELECTIONS, HE HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE TWO PROPOSED LOCA-TIONS. HE WOULD PREFER THEM FURTHER SOUTH, NEAR THE SA BORDER. (B). HE IS NOT ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH THE MANDATE GIVEN THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN THE PROPOSAL, AND HE THINKS THE UN FORCES MUST FUNCTION AS MORE THAN OBSERVERS. (VELLODI SAID HE DID NOT THINK THAT NUJOMA MEANT THE UN SHOULD ACTUALLY ADMINIS-TER THE ELECTIONS, BUT THAT THEY SHOULD ESPECIALLY INSURE EFFECTIVE AND FAIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS. THE PREPARATION OF ELECTORAL ROLLS WILL BE CRITICAL, HE SAID, IN A COUNTRY THAT HAS NEVER HAD A CENSUS.) NUJOMA ALSO SAID HE FELT THE UN FORCES SHOULD NUMBER AT LEAST 5000, BUT HE WAS PREPARED TO LEAVE THAT DETERMINATION TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL. (C) MUCH THE MOST IMPORTANT OF NUJOMA'S RESERVATIONS HAD TO DO WITH WALVIS BAY. "ITS BELONGING TO NAMIBIA HE INDICATED TO BE ALMOST NON-CONFIDENTIAL.

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NEGOTIABLE" (VELLODI'S WORDS). HE SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT FOR NAMIBIA TO HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA FOR WALVIS BAY BOTH WOULD BE AN INDIGNITY AND WOULD OFFER NO SURE SOLUTION. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NEGOTIATE FOR WALVIS BAY WITH THE FIVE OR EVEN WITH THE BRITISH IF THEY WOULD RECLAIM WALVIS BAY, BUT THAT WE SHOULD NOT ASK NAMIBIANS TO NEGOTIATE WITH SOUTH AFRICANS, KNOWING THE WAY THE FORMER FEEL ABOUT THE LATTER. IN ADDITION, HE IS CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WANTS TO HOLD ON TO WALVIS BAY BECAUSE OF THE MINERAL WEALTH IT CONTROLS. NUJOMA TOLD THE INDIANS THAT, AS HE HAD PROPOSED TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG, HE BELIEVED THAT THE FIVE SHOULD MAKE A DECLARATION THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA. HE ALSO WANTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO PASS A RESOLUTION TO THIS EFFECT.

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#### CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 5226

REFS: A. STATE 082297 AND 082435; B. SECTO 3082; C. NEW DELHI 5031; D. STATE 085931; E. USUN 01228

4. INDIA'S REACTIONS AND VIEWS: (A). THE GOI GOES ALONG WITH WALVIS BAY BEING A PART OF NAMIBIA AND WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT A SECURITY COUNCIL OR UN RESOLUTION TO THAT EFFECT. HOWEVER, PRIME MINISTER DESAI ADVISED NJUOMA THAT PROMPT SECURING OF NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE THE FIRST PRIORITY AND THAT THE ATTAINMENT OF THAT SHOULD NOT BE JEOPARDIZED OVER WALVIS BAY. CITING INDIA'S OWN EXPERIENCE (GOA, PANDICHERRY, ETC.), THE PRIME MINISTER SUGGESTED THAT HE SHOULD GET INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA FIRST AND DEAL WITH WALVIS BAY LATER. (B). THE GOI LOOKS FAVORABLY ON THE CONTACT GROUPS'S PROPOSALS BEING TAKEN UP CONFIDENTIAL

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BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, AS IT HAD ALSO HEARD WOULD BE LIKELY FROM AMBASSADOR JAIPAL. WHEN I ASKED FOR INDIA'S SUPPORT THERE, VELLODI SAID THE REACTION OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES TO THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT ON INDIA'S ROLE. VICE PRESIDENT AL-HAJ ABOUD JUJIE OF TANZANIA IS CURRENTLY IN NEW DELHI. THE GOI WILL BE CONFERRING WITH HIM ON THIS QUESTION BEFORE SENDING INSTRUCTIONS TO JAIPAL. (C). VELLODI INDICATED THAT THEY ARE DISTURBED BY A REPORT FROM JAIPAL THAT

SOUTH AFRICA HAS INDICATED IT WOULD RESPOND TO THE PROPOSALS "AFTER "CONSULTATION WITH THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE". THE BRITISH CHARGE SAID THEY HAD RECEIVED A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR REPORT. VELLODI PRESUMED THAT SA WAS TRYING TO LINE UP THE CHIEFS AGAINST THE PROPOSALS. WE OFFERED NO COMMENT. (D). FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE EXPECTS TO ATTEND THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA. THIS DOES NOT RESULT FROM THE RECENT ACTIVITY OF THE FIVE. HE HAS PLANNED TO DO SO FOR SOME TIME.

- 5. THE MATTER OF DISTORTED DELHI PRESS STORIES ON NUJOMA'S MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. VELLODI SAID THERE WAS NO SUBSTANCE EITHER TO NUJOMA'S HAVING REJECTED THE WESTERN PROPOSALS IN HIS MEETING WITH VAJPAYEE (SEE PARA 2 ABOVE) OR TO VAJPAYEE'S HAVING CALLED THERE FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, ALTHOUGH PRESS STORIES IN SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED BOTH ITEMS AS THOUGH THEY HAD DERIVED FROM THAT MEETING. HE SAID THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S POSITION HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN TO FAVOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHERE AND WHEN SUCH SEEMED POSSIBLE BUT TO ASSERT ALSO THE VALIDITY OF LIBERATION STRUGGLES BOTH AS BRINGING ADDED PRESSURE FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND, WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, AS THE ULTIMATE RESORT. IN THE CURRENT SITUATION VIS-A-VIS NAMIBIA, VELLODI SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS MUCH ENCOURAGED THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT NOW SEEMS SO POSSIBLE.
- 6. ADDENDUM: PLEASE ADD FOLLOWING TO PARA 4 (A) ABOVE: WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREEMENT AS TO THE RIFHT OF INHABITANTS OF WALVIS BAY TO VOTE IN THE NAMIBIAN ELECTIONS (STATE 082297), VELLODI SAID THE GOI FEELS THAT SOME BENDING BY SWAPO ON THE WALVIS BAY QUESTION MAY BE FORTHCOMING, PARTICULARLY IF SWAPO GETS THE DECLARATIONS ON WALVIS
BAY'S STATUS FROM THE FIVE AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT IT WANT.
GOHEEN

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